

POETRY.

FROM THE DELAWARE WATCHMAN.

THE SOLDIER'S ADIEU.

I go, my love!—but absence ne'er
Shall tear thee from my breast!
Can I forget the parting tear
That tells me I am blest?

Dear, dear to me, is Glory's voice,
And dear the clang of war;
But while victorious hosts rejoice,
I'll sigh, from thee afar!

The rousing drum, that fill'd my soul
With bright Ambition's glow,
Seems now the death of bliss to toll,
That I no more can know!

But still one thought will nerve my arm,
And calm my latest breath;
Thy heart, so rich in every charm,
Will mourn thy soldier's death!

The whistling ball that lately sped,
Unmarked, unheeded by,
Will whisper "the unburied dead"
Shall not be forgotten yet!

Oh, when I think my early grave
Thy generous tears will dew,
I'll fall, as may become the brave,
And die remembering you!

FROM THE NEW-ENGLAND GALAXY.

THE MAN OF INDUSTRY.

Lo! here he comes, with placid brow,
His steps bespeak a man of ease;
His temples, deck'd with health's bright glow,
Evince a heart possessing peace.

Strength nerves his arm with manly pride;
The dark salutes his early walk;
Wealth spreads her gifts on every side,
And honours' votaries round him stalk.

At home, the couch secures him rest,
His prattling infants smile around;
For they, like him, with health are blest—
Like him, with innocence abound.

The faithful partner of his life,
With joy prepares the fragrant food;
And in the duties of a wife,
Bestows profusely every good.

Thrice happy he, who thus enjoys
The gifts which industry bestows;
Whose mind, the art of blessing employs,
And round whose home its blessing flows.

For such shall drink the cup of joy;
Shall smile, though fortune's honours cease;
Yes! his is wealth without alloy—
His life is joy, his end in peace.

VINDICATION OF THE UNITED STATES BANK.

FROM THE FRANKLIN GAZETTE.

No. II.

But another great evil, is the United States bank and its branches refuse to give bills of exchange at par. This, no thinking man, who ever considered the nature of such an undertaking, ever believed the United States bank, with all its mighty capital, could do, although aided by the government deposits—unless, indeed, it had set itself up to grant this facility alone, and without intending to make any dividend for the benefit of the stockholders. The people were entered into a belief by some friends of the bank, that all the accommodations would be made, and even some members of Congress were led to believe, (with the exchange system of Europe staring them in the face,) of the practicability, nay, certainty, of the thing!

All this, however, took its rise in the want of knowledge of the nature of the thing called exchange. Although it is a branch of commercial operations as old as commerce itself, yet it never assumed its form and dimensions in this country till lately. Every body knows what it is now—and knowing in what it consists, it is the more strange that any should think it the duty of the United States bank, or of any other bank or banks, to equalize it. As well might it be considered the duty of an able individual banker.

Wherever the direction of trade looks, there the means of carrying it on must apply—and wherever the balance of trade lies, at no matter what point in our country, there the currency of the country will tend. If that currency be the paper of the United States bank, the paper of the United States bank will tend to that point. Suppose the balance of trade be in favor of the Eastern section of our country; that imports and exports centre there mainly.—If an intercourse be had with that section at all by the northern, southern and western sections, it must be had to a considerable extent at least, in the currency of the country. Suppose this to be the paper of the United States bank—Does it not follow that for all the paper received in the eastern section of our country, a corresponding demand will arise against the bank for specie? If so, will not the issues of the United States bank return upon it for specie?—And does not this imply a necessity in this bank to procure more of this article? And if this cannot be done without an advance in the dollar, of three, or five, or ten per cent, does not this create a debt against the bank according to the advance given for the specie, and thus lessen the profits on its business? And, if it shall do this, where is the propriety, in justice, of expecting this bank to pay away its thousands, annually, and gratis, to equalize the exchange of the country?

It will be remarked, that this is not an operation once performed and then bounded; but it is one of incessant repetition. The paper, which is the representative of specie, being issued, and carried to the great point of commerce, returns, and being redeemed by specie, is let out again; it again returns, is redeemed, and goes the same round. This business moves in a circle. There is no stopping point. And at each return an obligation arises on the part of the bank to buy more specie.

As I understand the existing arrangements which have been entered into by the bank, they embrace a recognition of a specie representation. The notes of

the banks will be redeemed at any bank where they are made payable, by specie. This surely is all that ought, in reason, to be asked. But a merchant having 50,000 dollars of the paper of the United States bank, or any of its branches, presents it, and demands a check on Boston. The answer is, by the officer representing the bank, I cannot give you this check, without an equivalent—and that equivalent is the rate of exchange between Philadelphia and Boston. The merchant refuses and demands the specie; it is paid him. But in carrying it to Boston, he finds the expense of transporting is equal to the rate of exchange, besides the risk incurred, and the trouble, &c. He then finds he might have served his purposes as well to have allowed the difference of exchange between Boston and Philadelphia—or indeed better; because it is the safer.

But, suppose the officers representing the bank, (as would have been the case before the late change,) had issued his check in the merchant's favor, on Boston, what would have been the result? Doubtless a demand for specie, either upon the mother bank, or some of the branches, or at least a liability for this demand. And if this demand were made, would it not lay the bank under a tax to replace it, in proportion to the price it might have to give for specie? Thus the bank, in such a transaction, would be fixed in precisely the same situation with the individual. But can there be any good reason assigned why the bank should assume the expense and risk of buying and transmitting this specie more than the merchant? But suppose the bill was taken by the merchant, and the ratio of exchange allowed, a profit would be realized in the sale of the bill to balance the loss which might arise in the purchase of a similar amount of specie.

Thus it appears that loss as well as trouble must have continued to accrue to the bank, if it had continued to issue bills gratis. It also appears that its demands for premium are just, inasmuch as they serve to replace, without loss, the advances it must have continued to make for specie.

It appears, moreover, that the merchants are not worsted by the demand for the par of exchange, as the cost, and risk and trouble of transporting specie would at least equal the advance required for the facility afforded by the more portable mode of bills.

It will not be forgotten that the specie, and not bills of exchange, is what the bank paper represents; and the specie held by the mother bank or its branches, they are bound to give out in turn for their notes, whenever demanded. But although specie is the thing represented, and not bills, yet the bank and its branches are willing, (being first made secure from loss,) to take the trouble of drawing bills and replacing specie, (which their bills may draw from them) gratis. And this is certainly a public convenience, more, because to do more implies not only the labor of the transaction, but loss also. Is it just to require this?

No more than a bare equivalent ought ever to be received by the United States bank for the possible rise in specie. But this will regulate itself. The exchange system will be well organized, no doubt. But a security will be found in the bank against the extravagant exactions of individuals—each, in fact, will check the other, even if the bank could condescend to make it a source of profit. The community are better off, therefore, than before the United States bank existed—for then brokers rioted unchecked, and drew away much that the state of the currency did not justify. But then there was no opposition—and it was easy for brokers to accommodate their views, the one to the other. Now, the bank will regulate them—always holding out the option to take specie, if the par of exchange be above what it ought to be, or is more than the party concerned may feel willing to allow.

I am not sure that I am understood; for the thoughts that have occurred to me are very hastily and clumsily given out; and the terms used may not be altogether technical. But if my meaning be taken, it is all I desire. I write to be understood by the people at large.

I have endeavored to show, First—That the refusal on the part of the United States bank, and its branches, to receive paper, except at those points where it is made payable and where means have been provided to redeem it, is a policy which in justice to the system, ought not to be excepted against—because an obligation to pay anywhere and every where would tend necessarily to embarrass the bank.

Second—That a refusal on the part of the bank, and its branches, to give bills of exchange at par, is dictated by the justice, which the directors owe the stockholders, because such accommodation, must necessarily bring a tax upon the bank, which it would be improper for it to bear, involving, as it needs must, great labor and risk, (in addition to the tax,) in the procurement of specie, which such a system could not fail to oblige them to assume.

JUSTITIA.

MR. CLAY'S SECOND SPEECH,

In the House of Representatives, at the last session, on Internal Improvement.

(CONCLUDED FROM OUR LAST.)

My honorable friend from Virginia, (Mr. Nelson) has denied the operation of executive influence on his mind; and has informed the committee that from that quarter he had nothing to expect, hope, or fear. I did not impute to my honorable friend any such motive. I know his independence of character and of mind, too well to do so. But, I entreat him to reflect, if he does not expose him-

self to such an imputation by those less friendly disposed towards him than myself. Let us look a little at facts. The President recommended the establishment of a Bank. If ever there were a stretch of the implied powers conveyed by the constitution, it has been thought that the grant of the charter of the national bank was one. But the President recommends it. Where was then my honorable friend, the friend of state rights, who so pathetically calls upon us to repent, in sackcloth and ashes, our mediated violation of the constitution; and who kindly expresses his hope that we shall be made to feel the public indignation? Where was he at this awful epoch? Where was that eloquent tongue which we have now heard with so much pleasure? Silent! silent as the grave!

[Mr. N. said, across the house, that he had voted against the bank when first recommended.]

Alas! said Mr. C. my honorable friend had not the heart to withstand a second recommendation from the President; but when it came, yielded, no doubt, most reluctantly, to the executive wishes, and voted for the bank! At the last session of Congress, Mr. Madison recommends (and I will presently make some remarks on that subject) an exercise of all the existing powers of the general government to establish a comprehensive system of internal improvements. Where was my honorable friend on that occasion? Not silent as the grave, but he gave a negative vote almost as silent. No effort was made on his part, great as he is when he exerts the powers of his well stored mind, to save the commonwealth from that greatest of all calamities, a system of internal improvement. No; although a war with all the allies, he now thinks, would be less terrible than the adoption of this report, not one word then dropped from his lips against the measure. [Mr. Nelson said he voted against the bill.] That he whispered out an unwilling negative, Mr. C. did not deny; but it was unstained by that torrent of eloquence which was poured out on the present occasion. But, said Mr. C. we have an executive message now, not quite as ambiguous in its terms, nor as oracular in its meaning, as that of Mr. Madison appears to have been. No; the President now says, that he has made great efforts to vanquish his objections to the power, and that he cannot but believe that it does not exist. Then my honorable friend rouses, thunders forth the danger in which the constitution is, and sounds about the town of alarm. Far from insinuating that he is at all biased by the executive wishes, I appeal to his candor to say, if there is not a remarkable coincidence between his zeal and exertions, and the opinions of the chief magistrate?

Now let us review these opinions, as communicated at different periods. It was the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, that, although there was no general power vested by the constitution, in Congress to construct roads and canals, without the

might be exercised with their assent. Mr. Jefferson not only held this opinion in the abstract, but he practically executed it in the instance of the Cumberland road, and how? First by a compact made with the state of Ohio, for the application of a specified fund, and then by compacts with Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland, to apply the fund so set apart within their respective limits. If, however, I rightly understood my honorable friend the other day, he expressly denied (and in that I concur with him) that the power could be acquired by the mere consent of the state. Yet he defended the act of Mr. Jefferson, in the case referred to. [Mr. Nelson expressed his dissent to this statement of his argument.] Mr. C. said it was far from his intention to misstate the gentleman. He certainly had understood him to say, that, as the road was first stipulated for in the compact with Ohio, it was competent afterwards to carry it through the states mentioned, with their assent. Now, if we have not the right to make a road in virtue of one compact made with a single state, can we obtain it by two contracts made with several states? The character of the fund could not affect the question. It was totally immaterial whether it arose from the sales of the public lands or from the general revenue. Suppose a contract, made with Massachusetts, that a certain portion of the revenue collected at the port of Boston from foreign trade, should be expended in making roads and canals leading to that state; and that a subsequent compact should be made with Connecticut, or New-Hampshire, for the expenditure of the fund on these objects, within their limits. Can we acquire the power, in this manner, over internal improvements, if we do not possess it independently of such compacts? He conceived clearly not. And he was entirely at a loss to comprehend how gentlemen, consistently with their own principles, could justify the erection of the Cumberland road. No man, he said, was prouder than he was of that noble monument of the provident care of the nation and of the public spirit of its projectors; and he trusted that, in spite of all constitutional and other scruples, here or elsewhere, an appropriation would be made to complete that road. He confessed, however, freely, that he was entirely unable to conceive of any principle on which that road could be supported that would not uphold the general power contended for.

He would now examine the opinion of Mr. Madison. Of all the acts of that pure, virtuous and illustrious statesman, whose administration has so powerfully tended to advance the glory, honor and prosperity of this country, he most regretted, for his sake and for the sake of the country, the rejection of the bill of the last session. He thought it irreconcilable with Mr. Madison's own principles—those great, broad and liberal principles on which he so ably administered the government. And, sir, said Mr. C. when I appeal to the members of the last Congress, who are now in my hearing, I am authorized to say, with regard to the majority of them, that no circumstance, not even an earthquake that should have swallowed up one half of this city, could have excited more surprise than when it was first communicated to this House, that Mr. Madison had rejected his own bill—I say his own bill: for his message at the opening of the session meant nothing, if it did not recommend such an exercise of power as was contained in that bill. My friend, who is near me, (Mr. Johnson, of Virginia) the operations of whose vigorous and independent mind depend upon his own internal perceptions, has expressed himself with a becoming manliness, and thrown aside the authority of names, as having no bearing with him on the question. But, their authority has been referred to, and will have influence with others. It was impossible, moreover, to disguise the fact, that the question is now a question between the executive on the one side, and the representatives of the people on the other. So it is understood in the country, and such is the fact. Mr. Madison enjoys, in his retreat at Montpelier, the repose and the honors due to his eminent and laborious public services; and I would be among the last to disturb it. However painful it is to me to animadvert upon any of his opinions, I feel perfectly sure, that the circumstance can only be viewed by him with an enlightened liberality. What are the opinions which had been expressed by Mr. Madison on this subject? I will not refer to all the messages wherein he has recommended internal improvements; but to that alone which he addressed to Congress at the commencement of the last session, which contains this passage: "I particularly invite again the attention of Congress to the expediency of exercising their existing powers, and, where necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our country, by promoting intercourse and improvements, and by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity." In the examination of this passage, two positions forced themselves upon our attention. The first was, the assertion, that there are existing powers in Congress to effectuate a comprehensive system of roads and canals, the effect of which would be to draw the different parts of the country more closely together. And I would candidly admit, in the second place, that it was intimated, that, in the exercise of those existing powers, some defect might be discovered which would render an amendment of the constitution necessary. Nothing could be more clearly affirmed than the first position; but in the case of Mr. Madison regarding the bill, passed in consequence of his recommendation, he has not specified a solitary case to which those existing powers are applicable; he has not told us what he meant by those existing powers; and the general scope of his reasoning in that message, if well founded, proved that there were no existing powers whatever. It was apparent that Mr. Madison himself had not examined some of those principal sources of the constitution, from which, during this debate, the power had been derived. I deeply regret, and I know that Mr. Madison regretted, that the circumstances under which the bill was presented to him (the last day but one of a most busy session) deprived him of an opportunity of that thorough investigation of which no man is more capable. It is certain, that taking his two messages at the same session together, they are perfectly irreconcilable. What, moreover, was the nature of that bill? It did not apply the money to any specific object of internal improvement, nor designate any particular mode in which it should be applied; but merely set apart and pledged the fund to the general purpose, subject to the future disposition of Congress. If, then, there were any supposable case whatever, to which Congress might apply money in the erection of a road, or cutting a canal, the bill did not violate the constitution. And it ought not to have been anticipated, that money constitutionally appropriated by one Congress, would afterwards be unconstitutionally expended by another.

I come now, said Mr. C. to the message of Mr. Monroe; and if, by the communication of his opinion to Congress, he intended to prevent discussion, he has most woefully failed. I know that, according to a most venerable and excellent usage, the opinion neither of the President nor of the Senate, upon any proposition depending in this House, ought to be adverted to. Even in the Parliament of Great Britain, a member who would refer to the opinion of the sovereign, in such a case, would be instantly called to order; but under the extraordinary circumstances of the President having, with I have no doubt, the best motives, volunteered his opinion on this head, and inverted the order of legislation by beginning where it should end; I am compelled, most reluctantly, to refer to that opinion. I cannot but deprecate the practice of which the President has, in this instance, set the example to his successors. The constitutional order of legislation supposes that every bill originating in one House, shall be there deliberately investigated, without influence from any other branch of the legislature; and then referred to the other House, for a like free and unbiased consideration. Having passed both Houses, it is to be laid before the President; signed, if approved, and, if disapproved, to be returned, with his objections, to the originating House. In

this manner, entire freedom of thought and of action is secured, and the President finally sees the proposition in the most matured form which Congress can give to it. The practical effect, to say no more, of forestalling the legislative opinion, and telling us what we may or may not do, will be to deprive the President himself of the opportunity of considering a proposition so matured, and us of the benefit of his reasoning applied specifically to such proposition. For the constitution further enjoins it upon him to state his objections upon returning the bill. The originating House is then to reconsider it, and deliberately to weigh those objections; and it is further required, when the question is again taken, shall the bill pass, those objections notwithstanding; that the votes shall be solemnly spread, by ayes and noes, upon the record. Of this opportunity of thus recording our opinions, on matters of great public concern, we are deprived, if we submit to the innovation of the President. I will not press this part of the subject further. I repeat, again and again, that I have no doubt but that the President was actuated by the purest motives. I am compelled, however, in the exercise of that freedom of opinion which, so long as I exist, I will maintain, to say that the proceeding is irregular and unconstitutional.—Let us, however, examine the reasoning and opinion of the President. [Mr. C. here quoted the passage of the message at the opening of the session, which follows:]

"A difference of opinion has existed, from the first formation of our constitution to the present time, among our most enlightened and virtuous citizens, respecting the right of Congress to establish such a system of improvement. Taking into view the trust with which I am now honored, it would be improper, after what has passed, that this discussion should be revived, with an uncertainty of my opinion respecting the right. Disregarding early impressions, I have bestowed on the subject all the deliberation which its great importance and a just sense of my duty required, and the result is, a settled conviction in my mind, that Congress do not possess the right. It is not contained in any of the specified powers granted to Congress; nor can I consider it incidental to, or a necessary means, viewed on the most liberal scale, for carrying into effect any of the powers which are specifically granted. In communicating this result, I cannot resist the obligation which I feel, to suggest to Congress the propriety of recommending to the states the adoption of an amendment to the constitution, which shall give to Congress the right in question. In cases of doubtful construction, especially of such vital interest, it comports with the nature and origin of our institutions, and will contribute much to preserve them, to apply to our constituents for an explicit grant of the power. We may confidently rely, that, if it appears to their satisfaction that the power is necessary, it will always be granted."

In this passage the President has furnished us with no reasoning, no argument in support of his opinion—nothing addressed to the understanding. He gives us, indeed, an historical account of the operations of his own mind, and he asserts that he has made a laborious effort to conquer his early impressions, but that the result is a settled conviction against the power, without a single reason. In his position, that the power must be specifically granted, or incident to a power so granted, it has been seen that I have the honor to entirely concur with him; but, he says the power is not among the specified powers. Has he taken into consideration the clause respecting post roads, and told us how and why that does not convey the power? If he had acted within what I conceive to be his constitutional sphere of rejecting the bill, after it had passed both Houses, he must have learnt that great stress was placed on that clause, and we should have been enlightened by his comments upon it. As to his denial of the power, as an incident to any of the express grants, Mr. C. said, he would have thought that we might have safely appealed to the experience of the President, during the late war, when the country derived so much benefit from his judicious administration of the duties of the War Department, whether roads and canals for military purposes were not essential to celerity and successful result in the operations of armies. This part of the message was all assertion, and contained no argument which he could comprehend, or which met the points contended for during this debate. Allow me here, said Mr. C. to say, and I do without the least disrespect to that branch of the government, on whose opinions and acts it has been rendered my painful duty to comment—let me say, in reference to any man, however elevated his station, even if he be endowed with the power and prerogatives of a sovereign, that his acts are worth infinitely more, and are more intelligible, than mere paper sentiments or declarations. And what have been the acts of the President? During his tour of the last summer, did he not order a road to be cut or repaired from near Plattsburg to the St. Lawrence? And my honorable friend will excuse me if my comprehension is too dull to perceive the force of that argument which seeks to draw a distinction between repairing an old and making a new road. [Mr. Nelson said he had not drawn that distinction, having only stated the fact.] Certainly no such distinction was to be found in the constitution or existed in reason. Grant, however, the power of reparation, and we will make it do. We will take the post roads, sinuous as they are, and put them in a condition to enable the mails to pass, without those mortifying and painful delays and disappointments to which we, at least in the west, are so often liable. The President, then, ordered a road of

considerable extent to be constructed or repaired, on his sole authority, in a time of profound peace, when no enemy threatened the country, and when, in relation to the power as to which alone that road could be useful in time of war, there existed the best understanding, and a prospect of lasting friendship greater than at any former period. On his sole authority the President acted, and we are already called upon by the chairman of the committee of ways and means to sanction the act by an appropriation. This measure has been taken, too, without the consent of the state of New-York; and what is wonderful, when we consider the magnitude of the state rights which are said to be violated, without even a protest on the part of that state against it. On the contrary, I understand, from some of the military officers who are charged with the execution of the work, what is very extraordinary, that the people, through whose quarter of the country the road passes, do not view it as a national calamity; that they would be very glad that the President would visit them often, and that he would order a road to be cut and improved, at the national expense, every time he should visit them. Other roads, in other parts of the Union, have, it seems, been likewise ordered, or their execution, at the public expense, sanctioned by the executive, without the concurrence of Congress. If the President has the power to cause these public improvements to be executed, at his pleasure, whence is it derived? If any member will stand up in his place and say the President is clothed with this authority, and that it is denied to Congress, let us hear from him; and let him point to the clause of the constitution which vests it in the executive and withholds it from the legislative branch.

There is no such clause; there is no such exclusive executive power. The power is derivable by the executive only from those provisions of the constitution which charge him with the duties of commanding the physical force of the country, and the employment of that force in war and in the preservation of the public tranquillity, and in the execution of the laws. But Congress has paramount power to the President. It alone can declare war, can raise armies, can provide for calling out the militia in the specified instances, and can raise and appropriate the ways and means necessary to these objects. Or is it come to this, that there are to be two rules of construction for the constitution—one, and an enlarged rule, for the executive;—and another, and a restricted rule, for the legislature? Is it a ready to be held, that, according to the genius and nature of our institutions, powers of this kind may be safely trusted to the executive, but, when attempted to be exercised by the legislature, are so alarming and dangerous that a war with all the allied powers would be less terrible, and that the nation should clothe itself straightway in sackcloth and ashes? No, sir; if the power belongs only by implication to the chief magistrate, it is placed, both by implication and express grant, in the hands of Congress. I am so far from condemning the act of the President, to which I have referred, that I think it deserving of high approbation; that it was within the scope of his constitutional authority I have no doubt; and I sincerely trust that the Secretary of War will, in time of peace, constantly employ in that way the military force. It will, at the same time, guard that force against the vices incident to indolence and inaction, and correct the evil of subtracting from the mass of the labor of society, where labor is more valuable than in any other country, that portion of it which enters into the composition of the army. But I most solemnly protest against any exercise of powers of this kind, by the President, which are denied to Congress. And, if the opinions expressed by him, in his message, were communicated or are to be used here to influence the judgment of the House, their authority is more than counterbalanced by the authority of his deliberate acts.

Some principles drawn from political economists have been alluded to, and we are advised to leave things to themselves, upon the ground that, when the condition of society is ripe for internal improvements, that is, when capital can be so invested with a fair prospect of adequate remuneration, they will be executed by associations of individuals, unaided by government. With my friend from South Carolina (Mr. Lowndes) I concur in this as a general maxim; and I also concur with him that there are exceptions to it. The foreign policy which I think this country ought to adopt, presents one of those exceptions. It would perhaps be better for mankind, if, in the intercourse between nations, all would leave skill and industry to their unstimulated exertions. But this is not done; and if other powers will incite the industry of their subjects and depress that of our citizens, in instances where they may come into competition, we must imitate their selfish example. Hence the necessity to protect our manufactures. In regard to internal improvements, it did not always follow that they would be constructed wherever they would afford a competent dividend upon the capital invested. It may be true generally that, in old countries, where there is a great accumulation of surplus capital, and a consequent low rate of interest, they would be made. But in a new country the condition of society may be ripe for public works long before there is, in the hands of individuals, the necessary accumulation of capital to effect them; and, besides, there is generally, in such a country, not only a scarcity of capital, but such a multiplicity of profitable objects presenting themselves as to distract the judgment. Further; the aggregate benefit resulting to the whole society, from a public improve-

ment, is so great, that it is not to be estimated by the private gain of the individual who constructs it. In a new country, the condition of society may be ripe for public works long before there is, in the hands of individuals, the necessary accumulation of capital to effect them; and, besides, there is generally, in such a country, not only a scarcity of capital, but such a multiplicity of profitable objects presenting themselves as to distract the judgment. Further; the aggregate benefit resulting to the whole society, from a public improve-

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ment, is so great, that it is not to be estimated by the private gain of the individual who constructs it. In a new country, the condition of society may be ripe for public works long before there is, in the hands of individuals, the necessary accumulation of capital to effect them; and, besides, there is generally, in such a country, not only a scarcity of capital, but such a multiplicity of profitable objects presenting themselves as to distract the judgment. Further; the aggregate benefit resulting to the whole society, from a public improve-

ment, may be such as to amply justify the investment of capital in its execution, and yet that benefit may be so distributed among different and distant persons as that they can never be got to act in concert. The turnpike roads wanted to pass the Alleghany mountains, and the Delaware and Chesapeake canal, are objects of this description. Those who would be most benefited by these improvements reside at a considerable distance from the sites of them; many of those persons never have seen and never will see them. How is it possible to regulate the contributions, or to present to individuals so situated a sufficiently lively picture of their real interests to get them to make exertions, in effectuating the object, commensurate with their respective abilities? I think it very probable that the capitalist, who should invest his money, in one of those objects, might not be reimbursed three per cent. annually upon it. And yet society, in various forms, might actually reap fifteen or twenty per cent. The benefit resulting from a turnpike road, made by private associations, is divided between the capitalist who receives its tolls, the lands through which it passes, and which are augmented in their value, and the commodities whose value is enhanced by the diminished expense of transportation. A combination upon any terms, much less a just combination, of all these interests to effect the improvement, is impracticable. And if you await the arrival of the period when the tolls alone can produce a competent dividend, it is evident that you will have to suspend its execution until long after the general interests of society would have authorized it.

Again: improvements made by private associations are generally made by the local capital. But ages must elapse before there will be concentrated in certain places, where the interests of the whole community may call for improvements, sufficient capital to make them. The place of the improvement, too, is not always the most interested in its accomplishment. Other parts of the Union—the whole line of the seaboard—are quite as much if not more interested in the Delaware and Chesapeake canal, as the small tract of country through which it is proposed to pass. The same observation will apply to turnpike roads passing through the Alleghany mountains. Sometimes the interest of the place of the improvement is adverse to the improvement and to the general interest. He would cite Louisville, at the rapids of the Ohio, as an example, whose interest will probably be more promoted by the continuance, than the removal of the obstruction. Of all the modes in which a government can employ its surplus revenue, none is more permanently beneficial than that of internal improvement. Fixed to the soil, it becomes a durable part of the land itself, diffusing comfort, and activity, and animation, on all sides. The first direct effect was on the agricultural community, into whose pockets came the difference in the expense of transportation between good and bad ways. Thus, if the price of transporting a barrel of flour by the erection of the Cumberland turnpike should be lessened two dollars, the producer of the article would receive that two dollars more than formerly.

But, putting aside all pecuniary considerations, there may be political motives sufficiently powerful alone to justify certain internal improvements. Does not our country present such? How are they to be effected, if things are left to themselves? I will not press the subject further. I am too sensible how much I have abused the patience of the committee by trespassing so long upon its attention. The magnitude of the question, and the deep interest I feel in its rightful decision, must be my apology. We are now making the last effort to establish our power; and I call on the friends of Congress, of this House, or the true friends of state rights, (not charging others with intending to oppose them) to rally around the constitution, and to support by their votes on this occasion, the legitimate powers of the legislature. If we do nothing this session but pass an abstract resolution on the subject, I shall, under all circumstances, consider it a triumph for the best interests of the country, of which posterity will, if we do not, reap the benefit. I trust that by the decision which shall be given, we shall assert, uphold and maintain the authority of Congress, notwithstanding all that has been or may be said against it.

FROM THE NEW YORK GAZETTE.

"We can add no interest to the following narrative by any remarks on its nature or tendency. We give it as an highly interesting statement of facts, under the proper signature of a gentleman who is well known in this city."

PITTS, March 6, 1818.

James Drake, Esq.
DEAR SIR—I avail myself of the opportunity to inform you of my present unpleasant situation, and to request the favor of your sending an extract of this letter to my friends, J. J. Vasquez, New York, Meuron & Co. Lisbon, and to Robert Ainslie, of N. York.

Soon after my arrival in Lisbon, I did myself the pleasure to write you, informing of my intention of leaving that place for China; and arrived in Canton Sept. 1815, in the ship Braganza, of New York, with the intention of returning to Amsterdam; but the voyage, owing to circumstances, being changed, and the ship returning to New York, I determined to remain in China, and there formed a connexion with Mr. J. S. Wilcocks, of Philadelphia, who was then fitting out a vessel for Valparaiso. In December we sailed in the schooner Traveller with a cargo of teas and silks, for Port Jackson, New South Wales, and the coast of Chili, supposing the ports on that coast to be open to the commerce of strangers,

and after discharging the teas at Port Jackson, and taking in a quantity of India goods, sailed for Coquimbo, and there learned that the ports were shut. Finding it therefore impossible to trade, left there for the Sandwich Islands, for the purpose of repairing the vessel and procuring provisions. Sailed thence in December 1816 for a Russian settlement called Bodego, on the coast of New Albion, in the hope of disposing of the cargo, but without success; in consequence of which, found it necessary to proceed to the coast of California, and was there ten months, during which time we rendered many services to the government, in consideration of which, the government of Upper California granted us permission to take a cargo of grain to Loreto, the seat of government of Lower California, and situated in the gulf of the same name; where, upon our arrival, we found the inhabitants and the troops in the utmost distress, without a bushel of any kind of grain in the place, in which situation they had been for nearly a month; in short, our arrival was looked upon as a most fortunate occurrence, and to use the words of the people of Loreto, was considered as a perfect "God-send." The cargo we sold to the government, and instead of taking advantage of their distressed situation, as many would have done, we let them take the cargo at their own price. After being at Loreto about a fortnight, discharging the cargo and repairing the vessel, were at length ready for sea. My friend Wilcocks and myself went on shore to take leave of the governor, with whom, as we could not sail until the land breeze set in, we supped.

During the time of supper, some of the very people whom we had clothed and perhaps saved from starving but a few days before, headed by a Spaniard from Lima, a fellow of desperate character, without the knowledge of the Governor, boarded the schooner, cut her cables, and took her to a port called Guaymas, on the opposite side of the Gulf, about 24 hours sail from Loreto, leaving us and the boat's crew on shore, with nothing more than we stood in. When it was known where they had taken the schooner to, we lost no time in setting out for Guaymas, expecting that Government would not hesitate for a moment (considering the circumstance of the vessel being in a King's port, with the sanction of the Governor of the Californias, and in short under the protection of the Spanish flag) to give her up. But the reverse, I am sorry to say for the honor of the Spanish nation, is the case. The vessel, without trial, has been condemned, and her cargo sold, and ourselves and all the crew made close prisoners, in which situation we have been now nearly three months.

How long this will last, or what the result will be, God only knows. I am of opinion however, that in the end, the property, considering all circumstances, must be restored. The decision will, however, not be known for some months yet, as it depends on the Viceroy of Mexico.

You will, I dare say, be at a loss to know the situation of the place from which this is dated; I have therefore thought proper to give it to you. It is situated in lat. 28 North, and 108 West longitude, 30 leagues North East of the Gulf of California, and about 200 leagues North East of St. Blas.

I beg to be remembered in the kindest manner to my friends, Murdock, Scull, Wilson, &c.

I am, dear sir, your most obedient servant,
DAVID WM. GAUL.

EXECUTIVE APPOINTMENT.

CHILTON ALLAN, Esq. Attorney for the commonwealth, in the Tenth Judicial District, in the place of Samuel Hanson, Esq. resigned.

The above District is composed of the counties of Clarke, Bourbon, Madison and Estill.

BRIDGE TOWN, (Barbadoes) Aug. 8.

We have received the following communication from a quarter that authorizes the fullest authenticity:

"It appears that the independents have made a fine campaign by taking San Fernando and driving the Spaniards out of Llanos. The advantage of the former can only be appreciated by an acquaintance with the geography of the country. It secures the inland navigation from Augusta to a short distance of Santa Fee, as well as the security of the rich Province of Barinas and consolidates the conquest of Guayana with the protection of the Llanos."

"General Bolivar has, besides, achieved a more difficult enterprise—he has restored perfect union among all the independent leaders, and obedience to the government; so that it has at least assumed the order and security of a government 'de facto.'"

"An envoy from the President of the United States (Mr. Irvine) went out in the American sloop of war Hornet, and has proceeded to Augustura in Ericson's ship, who received him on board from the Hornet, at Margarita. The object of his mission remains unknown."

Extract of a letter from Chili, dated May 30.

"This morning arrived the United States ship Ontario, captain Biddle, 28 days from Lima. She had a passage to Lima of nine days and remained nine days there. Captain Biddle and Judge Prevost were treated with much respect by the viceroy; but with difficulty he was made to believe the news of the battle on the plains of Maipo. A minister is sent in the Ontario, Don Felix Blanco, adjunct of the Director of the Philippine Company, to treat respecting the exchange of prisoners. The Americans in prison in Lima, seven in number, were released and came in the Ontario."

KENTUCKY GAZETTE.

LEXINGTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16.

The republicans of Massachusetts, most of whom seemed to have fallen in love with the idea of amalgamating with federalism, have at last very wisely abandoned the scheme. They acknowledge their conviction of the insincerity of the federal professions of a desire to harmonize; they admit that the advances of the republican party towards a co-operation with their antagonists, have not been met with corresponding dispositions by the federalists; and the republicans have, consequently, determined hereafter to stand on their own ground, and to unite with vigor in an attempt to beat their opponents at the next state elections.

Such has been the infatuation of many republicans in relation to party amalgamation, that even in the patriotic and democratic city of Baltimore, federal candidates have been encouraged to offer as delegates to the legislature; and our friends there seem to be reaping some of the bitter fruits of the conciliation policy. We hope, however, that the democratic candidates will find no difficulty in gaining their election.

The truth is, that never did a more gross delusion seize the minds of rational men, than that a cordial union could be effected between two parties so hostile in their feelings, so opposite in their principles, as the republicans and federalists. The experiment has tended to depress the republicans, and to give advantage to the federalists. It has induced weak republicans to admit and propagate the fallacious notion, that the federalists as a party were a patriotic set of people; that between the two parties only a slight shade of difference existed, and that an amalgamation would bring about that happy political millennium which was so much desired by all good men. We find the opposite party, wherever they had the ascendancy, all this time pushing their advantage with increased energy and unanimity, and not yielding an inch in any respect to the republicans. Let us then hope that recent experience will not be lost on us, and that our party will desist from future attempts to form an unholy alliance with federalism, disguised under the cloak of canting hypocrisy and smiling moderation.

FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION.
In an article complaining of the liberties taken in the newspapers with the administration, the National Intelligencer intimates its opinion that the privilege of railing at public men and public measures may be abused! Now, as this is a fact generally admitted; as all human rights are liable to abuse; and we cannot see any good reason why the National Intelligencer should, at this particular time, gravely repeat the truism, unless that it is intended to be a warning to other editors to indulge in such a supposition; but we think, considering the official relation in which the National Intelligencer is generally believed to stand towards the executive, it would be well for that paper to abstain from denouncing, in this way, the licentiousness of the press. It is true, that the Aurora, lost to all sense of decency, and conducted without any regard to the principles of a gentleman, may have used language to the President which throws Grubstreet itself into shade; it may have accused him of "infamy, imposture, insincerity, odious violence, and damning associations!" But such extravagant indecencies are not, we believe, common with the papers that have censured particular acts of the executive. On the contrary, they have generally spoken of him in decorous terms. While they have reprobated certain measures, they have rather lamented them, than abused the man.

Nor is there any danger, as the Intelligencer appears to apprehend, that our future historians will draw their materials from such papers as the Aurora alone; there is more danger that those materials will perhaps be derived exclusively from the National Intelligencer and its coadjutors, who have published only what is favorable to every administration, and applauded every one of their measures, good, bad or indifferent. Posterity will thus see the brightest side of the picture of our government.

SPANISH POLITICS.
Iru, (Spain) July 26.

One of the most able Diplomats, accompanied by a numerous suite, is to repair very shortly to the congress of sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle. The public do not know whom the king has chosen for this important mission; but there is every reason to suppose that one of his majesty's ministers will be entrusted to it. At this moment Spain has important interests to settle, and will powerfully solicit the mediation of some of the great powers; on the one side, the United States have assumed such a hostile attitude, that it is not easy to see how our differences with that power will terminate; they are of such a nature, that it is affirmed our ambassador is recalled. On the other hand, our differences are still in the same state with the court of Rio Janeiro: the latter makes such extravagant demands, that it would show great weakness to accede to them. The last despatches from general Morillo are of a pretty late date. He begins to recover from his wounds, and hopes, he says, soon to be able to take the field again. The general, however, does not dissemble, that, without a considerable reinforcement of good troops, which he requests may be sent as soon as possible, it will be impossible for him to carry on, with any hope of a favorable issue, the destructive war which the insurgents wage against him.

The Viceroy of Mexico also desires a reinforcement of 3,000 men for the garrison of Vera Cruz, to keep open the communication between that city and Mexico. In Peru, also, our affairs are in the most brilliant condition. How is it possible, in the circumstances in which we are, to provide for the expenses of such expeditions? This is a question which every body asks, but the answer is difficult.

ST. TAMMANY CELEBRATION.
The following are the Toasts drunk at the Anniversary Festival in commemoration of the discovery of America, by the Tammany Society, on the 12th instant.

1. The memory of Christopher Columbus—He discovered a new world, and that world is now the only seat of freedom.
2. The memory of our Patron Saint—Whitely savage, he appreciated the value of civil liberty, and understood the good it was destined to produce on the whole family of man.
3. The free Constitution of America—The world's best hope—the only hope of man.
4. The union of all the Tribes—He who would break the chain of union, deserves the execration of the world.
5. The Patriots who voted our Declaration of Independence—When we forget them, we shall deserve to be forgotten by our God.
6. The immortal Author of our Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson.
7. The memory of Washington.
8. The memory of Benjamin Franklin—The elements, and the liberties we enjoy, pay homage to his mind and virtues.
9. The memory of John Hancock and Samuel Adams.
10. The Patriots of South America—He is an enemy to liberty every where, who would deny its rights to all who are born on the sacred soil of St. Tammany.
11. The great cause of Human Liberty—Those who oppose it in France, Ireland, or in South America, are its enemies in all countries.
12. James Monroe—We hail "the era of good feelings" among good patriots; but Kentucky volunteers of the late war can never amalgamate with Hartford conventionists and Boston Tories.

13. The right of Free Suffrage—It is the basis of all rights. Vigilantly exercised, it will protect the rights of all; negligently exercised, worth less than nothing—a cheat.

14. Transylvania University—No longer under the influence of sect or party; may it be devoted to the purposes of benevolence, literature and science.

15. Domestic Manufactures.

NEW-YORK, SEPT. 29.

COMMODORE TAYLOR.

This gentleman, after solemn argument, was on Saturday last discharged from bail, by his honor Judge Van Ness, of the District Court of the United States, in a suit instituted by Don Thomas Stoughton, Consul of his Catholic Majesty. We are not sufficiently informed to state all the points which came before the court; but understand the court decided—

First—That it had no jurisdiction over prize cases as between Spain and her colonies; or the colonies and any other power at war, where the vessel making the capture was not fitted out of the United States.

Secondly—That where the vessel making the capture was alleged to have been fitted out of the United States, but was cruising on the high seas, under the commission and authority of one of the belligerents, the court would not interfere, unless the captured property was brought within the jurisdiction of the court.

Thirdly—That the court deemed the question of damages to rest entirely upon the question of prize or no prize. That not having jurisdiction of the latter, it could not have of a matter necessarily growing out of, and depending upon it; and, therefore, that it would not hold Commodore Taylor to bail in the suit instituted against him for damages, the property not having been brought within the jurisdiction of the court, but carried into the port of the captor.

SEPT. 30.

LATEST FROM GIBRALTAR.

By the Boxer, a communication dated the 15th ult. informs that the plague at Algiers had increased. The daily deaths were augmented from 20 to 25, to between 40 and 45 per day. At Oran, and its territory, the deaths were from 100 to 150 a day. The day had lost a son, a daughter, and sister-in-law.

The plague, which is called by the physicians the "Plague of the Levant," had extended from Tangiers, up to the 11th, there had been 62 deaths of the plague. At the village Marchand, in which a population of only about 200, 49 had died, and amongst them three entire families, one of seven persons and two of six. It was calculated that one-fifth of the population of the above places had been swept off.

Passengers lately from Buenos Ayres report, that the director of Paraguay, Francia, has been put down, in consequence of a belief that he had been gained by the Portuguese. Some of them also state, that his successor entered into a friendly understanding and connection with general Artigas against the Portuguese. They state that this fact was known, though not published, at Buenos Ayres.—[Censor.]

FROM THE WILMINGTON (DE.) WATCHMAN.

Letters received in this borough from Buenos Ayres, contain the following intelligence:

"The Portuguese, by intimation, have got possession of Colonia, and general Urquiza marched about the same time and possessed himself of Purification and Paysandu, with about 3500 men. A corps of cavalry was sent over to Arroyo de la China, which was sacked, and the women violated. The Portuguese have now become audacious; they openly speak of taking possession of the whole of Uruguay, since held by the government of Buenos Ayres. General San Martin, who is here, has called a true patriot, and, if his time would permit, would go over to confer with Artigas."

Colonia is a small town on the eastern shore (Banda Oriental) of the river La Plata, opposite to Buenos Ayres. Purification is a town in the interior, built by Artigas; and Martin Garcia is an island at the mouth of the river Uruguay.

It is stated in the Intelligencer that the government of Buenos Ayres permitted the Portuguese to send their troops up the river to co-operate with their land forces against Artigas. We are sorry to observe the respectable editors of the Intelligencer lending their paper to statements so insidious, and, withal, so absurd. When it is known that the Portuguese have a vastly superior naval force to that of Buenos Ayres, and that the river La Plata is more than thirty miles in width, higher up than that city, it must be obvious that no permission was necessary, and that none would be asked.

THEATRE.

TOMORROW EVENING,

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17,

Will be presented Southern's celebrated Tragedy, in 5 acts, called

ISABELLA,

OR

The Fatal Marriage.

Biron : : : Mr. Fisher

Sampson : : : Jones

Isabella : : : Mrs. Groshon.

End of the Play—Mr. Alexander will sing the Comic Song of

THE BAG OF NAILS.

To conclude with the much admired Comedy, in three acts, called

WAYS AND MEANS,

OR

The Whimsical Family.

For particulars, see BILLS of the Day.

Oct. 16—17

AUCTION.

By SHREVE & COMBS.

NEW GOODS.

On Saturday, [to-morrow,]

At 10 o'clock,

At Shreve & Combs's Auction Rooms.

WILL BE SOLD,

A VALUABLE COLLECTION OF

MERCHANDISE,

JUST received from New-York, which will be worthy of the attention of merchants in town and country;

CONSISTING OF

Scalloped Thread Laces, new and fashionable patterns

Black Prunelle Shoes

Fine and superfine Linen Cambricks

Nun's Thread and Twist

Ladies' Tortoise Shell Combs, plain and ornamented

Elegant ornamented Time Pieces

Silk Watch Chains, with gilt ornaments

Double cased Silver Watches, cased & jeweled

Kyoscoed Watches, very elegant

White Cambric Needles, assorted

Super Gilt Coat Buttons

Hard-Ware, Cutlery, &c.

Terms of Sale made known in the Bills of the Day.

SHREVE & COMBS,

Auc' & Com'n. Merch'ts

Lex. Oct. 16, 1818—17

From the correspondent of the Democratic Press.

"ST. THOMAS, SEPT. 2.
"We yesterday received an account that Admiral Brien with his squadron, in conjunction with the land forces under the independent general, Bermudez, has taken Laguna, Compa, and Carles. It was much feared by the royal Spaniards at Cumana, that they would be shortly attacked."

We are glad to find that after infinite annoyance and vexation from the royal agents in New-York, Mr. Aguirre has succeeded in despatching two elegant frigates for Buenos Ayres. These vessels will be an immense acquisition to the Patriot governments, and no doubt secure beyond failure their ascendancy on the Pacific, and probably accelerate the fall of Lima and Peru. Success and glory attend them. Since these ships were bidding, our good friend Ferdinand has fitted out and possessed himself from our ports of the General Scott, the Chasseur, the Regulus, and other vessels; the finest in his service. Thank God, they are not manned with brave and skillful officers and willing men. The slaves of tyrants can never stand against freemen on equal terms.

[Maryland Censor.]

Extract of a letter dated Pensacola, August 6.

"A report has prevailed for some time, that two of the transports, one of which carried the ex-governor, Massot, had been lost. We have just learned that they arrived at Campeachy bay, having been carried there by adverse currents."

SPECIE DOLLARS appear to be in great demand at this moment; and every art is essayed by speculators to drain the vaults of the Banks of their contents. The cause of the demand for it will be understood, when it is stated that specie is, at New-York, and in other commercial cities proportionably, at 7 per cent. above par—being bought up at that price for the purpose of exportation, not only in the regular course of the East India trade, but also to Europe. Specie is said to be above par in all the ports of Europe; in some of them even higher than in this country.—[Nat. Intel.]

A writer in the Aurora, after deprecating the effects of the heavy reductions of discounts, by the Bank of the United States, recommending as a substitute for that resort, an application to the Secretary of the Treasury, "for an issue of treasury notes on loan, to the amount wanted, carrying an interest of six per cent. redeemable at the Bank of the United States, in 12, 18 and 24 months," for the payment of which, when they fall due, the writer says the bank can provide.

[Nat. Intel.]

MR. HOLLAND, from the Theatre Royal, Dublin, has made his first appearance in Boston in the part of Robin Hood.

COMMUNICATED.

MRS. GROSHON.

We believe that without a dissenting voice, the public have awarded to this lady the praise of being the best actress that ever appeared on the western stage; and the writer can say with truth, and with pleasure, that having witnessed the displays of dramatic talents in the Atlantic states for many years past, he has seen no lady more able, more completely at home, in the characters she represents, than Mrs. Groshon. One of the best means by which we may cause theatrical exhibitions to be improved, is to exercise a spirit of discernment and discrimination in patronising genius.

Mrs. Groshon; and it is sincerely hoped that the friends of the drama, ladies as well as gentlemen, will evince their usual taste and respect for talents on the occasion of the benefit of that excellent actress, which is fixed for Saturday evening.

W. O.

MARRIED.

In this town, Mr. WILLIAM G. WARHAM, of Charleston, S. C. to Miss SARAH P. HUNT.

In Jefferson county, AMOS KENDALL, Esq. editor of the Argus, to Miss MARY B. WOOLFOLK.

The account lately published in a "chilliotte paper, of the death of colonel DANIEL MOORE, is, we have good authority to say, a fabrication. Col. Moore was alive in August.

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PROPOSALS FOR PUBLISHING BY SUBSCRIPTION, THE WREATH, OR VERSES ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. BY A LADY OF LEXINGTON.

"For gain, not glory, wing thy daring flight."

THE writer of the proposed little volume is convinced that though this is comparatively a youthful country, a taste for poetry is rapidly progressing in it. These Poems, generally the effusion of feeling, and hastily written, are, with diffidence, offered to the patronage of a generous public.

The work will consist of a small volume, the price of which to Subscribers will be One Dollar per copy.

Subscriptions received at this Office. Those who hold Subscription Papers, will have the goodness to return them by the 1st of December.

October 16, 1818—3t

Cheap Store—REMOVED.

ARCAMAL & NOUVEL

